DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 420 733 UD 032 387

AUTHOR	Graves, Karen L.
TITLE	Outflanking Oppression: African American Contributions to Critical Pedagogy as Developed in the Scholarship of W. E. B. DuBois and Carter G. Woodson.
PUB DATE	1998-04-14
NOTE	27p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (San Diego, CA, April 13-17, 1998).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative (142) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Black Education; Black History; *Blacks; Cultural Differences; Democracy; Educational Environment; *Educational Philosophy; Elementary Secondary Education; Empowerment; *Racial Discrimination; *Scholarship; School Restructuring; Social Change; Teaching Methods
IDENTIFIERS	African Americans; Critical Pedagogy; *Du Bois (W E B); Social Justice; *Woodson (Carter G)

ABSTRACT

The educational philosophies of W. E. B. DuBois and Carter G. Woodson position them as important figures in the development of critical pedagogy. At its core, critical pedagogy is a hegemonic theory that focuses on the manifestation of power in society, with particular attention to how certain cultural groups learn to accept, engage in, or resist oppression. Those who adhere to critical pedagogy believe that significant structural changes in schooling will help bring about critical democracy, individual freedom, social justice, and social change. Sharing a belief in the transformative power of education, DuBois and Woodson foreshadowed later-20th-century development of critical pedagogy. A strong commitment to African American empowerment undergirded their scholarly achievements and led them to action against social inequalities and injustice. DuBois' faith in careful sociological measurement combined with cultural and historical understanding as a means to social reform prefigures the language of possibility expressed by critical pedagogues. In addition, DuBois had considered the school as an area of struggle years before the critical theorists engaged in this philosophy. The language of possibility that Woodson brought to the public through African American history formed a core element in the African American liberation struggle. Like DuBois, Woodson believed that racism extended from ignorance, and that teaching European Americans about the African experience in America would dispel it. No scholar has described the school as the site of struggle with more force than Woodson, whose "The Mis-Education of the Negro" (1933) stands as a classic text in U.S. educational history. The legacies of DuBois and Woodson give contemporary educators historical perspective from which to think about whether critical pedagogy can really equip teachers and students to bring about social change. A lesson to be derived from the life work of both men is that the strength of critical pedagogy is found in the commitment to struggle. (SLD)

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Karen L Graves

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"Americans can be notoriously selective in the exercise of historical memory." [1]

--Ralph Ellison

Few historians and philosophers of education in the academy recognize W.E.B. DuBois and Carter G. Woodson as scholars who prefigured the development of critical pedagogy. Generally, critical theorists trace the genesis of critical pedagogy to European sources with no acknowledgment of African American philosophy on emancipatory education. [2] North Americans' "obsession with European theories and philosophies" has blinded students of critical pedagogy to the rich epistemology articulated by African Americans. [3] For example, one influential critical theorist cautions against dismissal of critical pedagogy "simply because its roots are buried in Eurocentric critical theory," and encourages that an African American critical pedagogy "appropriate the best of this tradition...to fit the context of the African American struggle for freedom and social justice." [4] This argument suggests that there are no African American roots of critical pedagogy. To call for the "appropriation" of that which has been labeled clearly as a European theory denies the existence of (an adequate) critical pedagogy developed by African Americans. [5]

The want of recognition of African American scholarship among critical theorists correlates with an inattention to race issues that plagues critical pedagogy. Critics charge that discourse on critical pedagogy is deficient due to its near-silence on race issues. Beverly M. Gordon has developed this critique most forcefully in her essays, "Knowledge Construction, Competing Critical Theories, and Education," "African-American Cultural Knowledge and Liberatory Education: Dilemmas, Problems, and Potentials in a Postmodern American Society," and "The Necessity of African-American Epistemology for Educational Theory and Practice." Gordon explains

> The blind side of critical and feminist discourses is their inability, unwillingness, or complete lack of awareness of the need to focus on the conceptual systems that construct, legitimate, and normalize the issues of race and racism. This is demonstrated through the flagrant invisibility in their works of the critical and cultural model generated by a subjugated oppressed group from its own experiences within a dominant and hostile society. [6]

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Most often, critical theory in education is studied without regard to the African American experience, and theoretical frameworks developed by African Americans are marginalized within the academy. [7]

James A. Banks has shown that major architects of the multicultural education movement were influenced by the work of African American scholars George W. Williams, Charles Wesley, Carter Woodson, and W.E.B. DuBois. [8] Similar effort is needed to establish recognition of the African American legacy underlying critical pedagogy. Again, Beverly Gordon's observations are illustrative. Gordon notes that Carter G. Woodson predated Freire's pedagogical model and research method by forty years. Gordon continues,

> DuBois's work at Atlanta University, which remains still relatively obscure in circles of critical pedagogy, began almost three decades before the formation of the Institute for Social Research, an economically independent private research institute for social science affiliated with Frankfurt University in Germany. [9]

In this paper I argue that DuBois' and Woodson's educational philosophies position them as important figures in the historical development of critical pedagogy.

As an European American scholar and teacher, I come to this work cognizant of Banks' admonition that "mainstream" scholars' interest in ethnic and minority issues is likely to ebb and flow with the times. [10] Sporadic attention to African American educational history, however, belies its centrality to educational history in the United States. Public debate regarding schooling for African American children has fueled discussion of key educational issues such as access to schools, curriculum, or philosophical objectives of schooling. Learning from African American educational history is especially important for educators committed to constructing a critical pedagogy in U.S. schools. African American teachers have long been concerned with empowering students through education.

The trajectories of my research interests, the history of education in the United States and critical pedagogy, intersect at the educational philosophies of Woodson and DuBois. Echoing Joyce King, I believe European Americans can engage in this study. [11] As one who benefits from white privilege, I bear a responsibility to help dismantle the racist structures which maintain that unjust privilege. Critical theorists in education work for the transformation of society through an emancipatory pedagogy in schools, one which focuses on the synergism of critical thought and action. Gordon has emphasized the crucial role of dialogue which does not marginalize African American discourse in this process. She calls for scholarly engagement that acknowledges the validity of the Black perspective and unpacks issues of White supremacy. The dialogue that Gordon describes, long overdue, requires participation of all people committed to the establishment of a democratic society--African Americans, other people of color, and European Americans. [12]

There is no doubt that the marginalization of African American educational theorists has had a detrimental effect on education in the United States; its impact on African American children has been particularly severe. [13] European American educators have been slow to engage in dialogue that leads one to an understanding of "the sets of historically contingent circumstances and contradictory power relations that create the conditions in which we live."[14] Educational foundations scholars have neglected study of African American scholarship that informs critical educational theory. The analysis of DuBois' and Woodson's educational philosophies in this paper is part of my contribution to a critical conversation in education.

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Critical pedagogy has achieved a degree of prominence as educational theorists have contemplated the relationship between schools and society in the last decades of the twentieth century. Far from being a monolithic theory, critical pedagogy embraces a diverse set of ideas; yet common elements among its various strands are discernible. At its core, critical pedagogy is a hegemonic theory that focuses on the manifestation of power in society, with particular attention to how certain cultural groups learn to accept, engage in, or resist oppression. Schools operate as sites of social, economic, and cultural reproduction, but have the potential to become agencies for student empowerment. Those who adhere to critical pedagogy believe that significant structural changes in schooling will help bring about critical democracy, individual freedom, social justice, and social change. [15]

Barry Kanpol has articulated five tenets of critical pedagogy that I will use as a basis of analysis in this paper. A *language of possibility* generates the social transformation that critical theorists seek. An informed sense of hope underlies the critical pedagogy agenda. [16] The classroom is defined as a *terrain of struggle* in which teachers and students confront hegemonic forces of society. The classroom is a cultural and political space; critical pedagogues use it to challenge and transform dominant and oppressive values. [17] As a *transformative intellectual* the teacher acts as a political agent of social change. Teaching is an emancipatory practice, based on democratic values. [18] Critical pedagogy requires *group solidarity* in order for people to challenge structures of oppression, alienation, and subordination, just as it is important for people to learn to cross borders. *Border crossing* is "to dialogue across difference," to face another with the intent of achieving an understanding. [19]

Sharing a belief in the transformative power of education, W.E.B. DuBois and Carter G. Woodson foreshadowed the late-twentieth-century development of critical pedagogy. A strong commitment to African American empowerment under girded their considerable scholarly achievements and led both to direct action against social inequalities and injustices. [20] For many years DuBois and Woodson maintained a sense of hope that history and the social

sciences could be utilized by African Americans for economic, social, and political advancement and that European Americans could be educated away from racist behavior. DuBois' and Woodson's writings on the classroom as a terrain of struggle found their most powerful expression in the 1930s. In clear and persuasive arguments, DuBois and Woodson underscored the importance of group solidarity as they worked to bring African and African American studies into the curriculum. Both scholars suggested that the ability to dialogue across difference was dependent upon a knowledge of all human history. DuBois and Woodson each forged their life's work out of a belief that education was an essential element in the process of liberation.

* * *

"What with all my dreaming, studying, and teaching was I going to *do* in this fierce fight?" [21]

--W.E.B. DuBois

An informed sense of hope permeated DuBois' early scholarship. In his *Autobiography* DuBois recalled that he turned to his study of *The Philadelphia Negro* in 1896 "ready and eager to begin a life-work, leading to the emancipation of the American Negro. History and the other social sciences were to be my weapons, to be sharpened and applied by research and writing." [22] During this stage of his career, DuBois identified ignorance as the leading cause of racism. This analysis allowed for improvement in the form of systematic investigation and intelligent understanding. Quite simply,

> The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific investigation. [23]

DuBois' faith in careful sociological measurement combined with cultural and historical understanding as a means to social reform prefigured the language of possibility expressed by critical pedagogues. DuBois constructed the Atlanta University studies as a foundation for continued study which would act as a catalyst for social change. The 1910 study on the *College-bred Negro American* opened with the notice that the object of the project was not

> simply to serve science. We wish not only to make the truth clear but to present it in such shape as will encourage and help social reform. [24]

In later years DuBois referred to his axiomatic belief that people would respond to solid scientific efforts to dislodge racism with a commitment to restructure the social order as "a young man's idealism, not by any means false, but also never universally true." [25] Although DuBois never expected the color line to fall in the United States at just one blow, his idealism dimmed during his years in Atlanta. In 1907 DuBois noted that ten years of living in the South

had convinced him that no amount of desert on the part of African Americans would induce white citizens to grant them their rights. [26] Racism in the North was not far removed from conditions in the southern states, causing DuBois to write in 1934 that the solution to the race problem was farther away than he had dreamed in his youth.

Yet even in the face of persistent racism, DuBois did not fully dismiss hope of a better social order. He did alter his thinking on how it would be achieved. "I emerged into full manhood," he wrote, " with the ruins of some ideals about me, but with others planted above the stars...."[27] As DuBois neared the height of his leadership of African Americans in the United States, he outlined a different strategy for dismantling oppression. Forty years of education had done little to loosen white America's grip of race hatred and discrimination. DuBois' new school of thought maintained hope for "the ultimate uniting of mankind" and "a unified American nation, with economic classes and racial barriers leveled." But this was an ideal "to be realized only by such intensified class and race consciousness as will bring irresistible force rather than mere humanitarian appeals to bear on the motives and actions of men." [28] Organization was to supplement education.

DuBois mapped out the school as a terrain of struggle decades before the critical theorists of the 1970s engaged in this educational topology. In 1901 he acknowledged that education "always has had, and always will have, an element of danger and revolution, of dissatisfaction and discontent." [29] Five years later DuBois stood before an audience at Hampton Institute and, in a speech that antedated Paulo Freire's concept of conscientização, traced repressive educational policy to a "Great Fear." DuBois explained that "when a human being becomes suddenly conscious of the tremendous powers lying latent within him, ...he rises to the powerful assertion of a self, conscious of its might, then there is loosed upon the world possibilities of good or of evil that make men pause." [30] DuBois' references to the dissatisfaction and discontent stirred up by education, the awareness of the power within an individual to alter social structures, are forms of a critical consciousness that Freire described as conscientização: "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality." [31] DuBois became a forceful and constant advocate of education designed to empower African Americans and transform society. He was aware that schooling students in this manner would incite "Great Fear" in the oppressors, but argued that African Americans' very survival depended on emancipatory education. DuBois' warning that until the African American "has a vote and representation on school boards public control of his education will mean his spiritual and economic death" is a clear indication that he perceived the school as a crucial cultural and political space.[32] For DuBois, it was possible for the school to serve as a vehicle for empowerment, but not without struggle.

To be sure, the critical consciousness that was an essential element of education for DuBois would not go uncontested in the public schools. When it became clear that scholarship, reason, and humanitarian appeal were ineffective in ending discrimination, and DuBois turned to organization as a strategy for outflanking oppression, he acknowledged "some change of thought and modification of method" regarding segregated schools. [33] DuBois maintained, for the last four decades of his life, that African Americans must use segregated schools to think, plan, and condition themselves for the fight against segregation. As long as the overwhelming majority of U.S. citizens supported segregation, there seemed few alternatives. DuBois expected schools to play a pivotal role in his counter-offensive against racism. His short-term plan focused on the education of African American children and support for African American leadership. His long-term program targeted the entire African American community. The idea was to teach children, youth, and adults to face the facts of race discrimination, study the results of discrimination and the history of the races, and to equip all to determine for themselves an appropriate line of action against injustice. [34]

DuBois' most succinct writing on teaching as an emancipatory process, group solidarity in education, and pedagogical routes for crossing borders appeared in his 1933 address, "The Field and Function of the Negro College," and in his 1935 essay, "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" In "The Field and Function of the Negro College" DuBois supported African-centered education for its proactive potential. He championed the idea of an African American university by contrasting it with the notion of a French university. DuBois explained, with persuasive logic, that an African American university founded on a knowledge of African American culture and language was as valid as a university founded in France, using the French language, assuming a knowledge of French history, and committed to a study of the current problems facing the French people. One was no more universal than the other; the expectation for both was that, from a starting point grounded in the experience of the students, the university expands toward all knowledge. DuBois described the process as "a matter of beginnings and integrations of one group which sweep instinctive knowledge and inheritance and current reactions into a universal world of science, sociology, and art." [35] DuBois was ready with an answer to those of his day who categorized the program as working against national unity. Was it not a program of segregation?

> It is, and it is not by choice but by force; you do not get humanity by wishing it nor do you become American citizens simply because you want to...[the program] does not advocate segregation by race, it simply accepts the bald fact that we are segregated, apart, hammered into a separate unity by spiritual intolerance and legal sanction backed by mob law,.... [36]

Structural forces of oppression necessitated group solidarity in the form of African-centered study. DuBois developed his endorsement of segregated African-centered education out of the

understanding that schools were significant sites of struggle. He hoped to find a place from which African Americans could carefully shape a future which might insure physical survival, spiritual freedom, and social growth. [37]

Upon reflection, DuBois considered "The Field and Function of the Negro College" as the beginning of a new line of thought. In this speech he sounded the call for organization within segregated institutions as a vehicle for empowerment. "Therefore, let us not beat futile wings in impotent frenzy, but carefully plan and guide our segregated life, organize in industry and politics to protect it and expand it, and above all to give it unhampered spiritual expression in art and literature." [38] DuBois continued the theme of education for empowerment in "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" Here he wrote that teaching as an emancipatory process required sympathetic touch between teacher and student; knowledge on the part of the teacher of the individual taught and of his or her surroundings, background, and history; and contact between teacher and student, and among students, on the basis of social equality. [39] DuBois encouraged educators in African American schools to develop a curriculum and style of teaching that would help students claim their own power and ability. African American students ought to study, from their own point of view, African and African American history, particularly the history of the slave trade, slavery, emancipation, Reconstruction, and twentieth-century economic development. DuBois called for curricular revision in the social sciences, the arts, and the sciences to counter the racist intellectual propaganda emanating from elite colleges and universities. [40]

The task DuBois laid out for scholars was not to replace white dominance in the academy with black dominance, or as he stated, "to parallel the history of white folk with similar boasting about black and brown folk." [41] His charge prompted scholars toward an honest evaluation of human effort and accomplishment, one stripped of white-supremacist notions. DuBois educational paradigm indicated that a teacher should start with experiences and knowledge central to the students' culture, but expand to encompass all knowledge. His idea, that centeredness would serve as a precursor to dialogue across differences, was echoed in Molefi Kete Asante's definition of centricity:

> a perspective that involves locating students within the context of their own cultural references so that they can relate socially and psychologically to other cultural perspectives....A person educated in a truly centric fashion comes to view all groups' contributions as significant and useful. [42]

It is clear that DuBois' efforts to promote African and African American culture in schools brought him into harmony with modern versions of African-centered education. African-centered pedagogy in segregated schools represented the educational complement to economic organization along race lines in the 1930s. Both efforts required an exercise in what DuBois called race pride--teaching African Americans that they had established a historical record

of which they should be proud, "that their history in Africa and the world is a history of effort, success and trial, comparable with that of any other people." [43] Just as there are those today who claim that African-centered education is anti-white, DuBois discovered that "any statement of our desire to develop American Negro culture, to keep up our ties with coloured people, to remember our past is being regarded as 'racism.'" [44] DuBois understood, however, that knowledge of one's culture was an essential aspect of a liberating education. Group solidarity in education posed no contradiction to crossing borders. Education could indeed preserve African American culture and at the same time be of service to all humanity. [45]

* * *

"I am a radical. I am ready to act, if I can find brave men to help me." [46]

--Carter G. Woodson

The language of possibility that Carter G. Woodson brought to the public through African American history formed a core element in the African American liberation struggle. Woodson put forth knowledge of African American culture as a means to self-reliance and self-actualized power, and instructed the world in the breadth and depth of African tradition. [47] Woodson's hope for dismantling racist structures in the United States rested in an education that was not merely a process of imparting information, but "a means to inspire people to live more abundantly, to learn to begin with life as they find it and make it better." [48]

Woodson believed that a knowledge of African American history was fundamental in the struggle to obtain economic and political power. In a speech at Hampton Institute in 1921 he explained that respect for African American people was tied inextricably to regard for African American history.

> Let us, then, study...this history...with the understanding that we are not, after all, an inferior people....We are going back to that beautiful history and it is going to inspire us to greater achievements. It is not going to be long before we can so sing the story to the outside world as to convince it of the value of our history...and we are going to be recognized as men. [49]

Woodson biographer Jacqueline Goggin concluded that Woodson shaped his ideas about the ways in which education could transform society and uplift the oppressed during his years as a student and teacher, particularly during the ten years he taught in the Washington, DC public school system. Woodson's faith in the transformative power of education extended to European Americans, as well. Like DuBois, Woodson believed that racism extended from ignorance and that teaching European Americans about the African experience in America would dispel it. [50] Like DuBois, Woodson's educational philosophy would be severely tested. By the 1930s Woodson, too, moved to a more radical analysis of schooling in the United States. The sense of hope that characterized his earlier writing, however, remained.

> But can you expect teachers to revolutionize the social order for the good of the community? Indeed we must expect this very thing. The educational system of a country is worthless unless it accomplishes this task. [51]

No scholar has described the school as a terrain of struggle with more force than Carter G. Woodson. *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, first published in 1933, stands as a classic text in U.S. educational history. Woodson offered no public critique of African American education until 1931, but his analyses demanded a great deal of attention once published. [52] Apparently DuBois invited Woodson to submit a summary of his position on African American education to the *Crisis*. The editorial comment which preceded Woodson's 1931 article began:

> The author of this article has recently unsheathed his sword and leapt into the arena of the Negro press and splashed about so vigorously and relentlessly at almost everything in sight that, the black world has been gasping each week.[53]

Charles Wesley noted that Woodson's fight against traditional schooling exposed a system designed to rob African American students of faith in themselves. [54] Woodson examined the curriculum and objectives of schooling available to African Americans and indicted the educational system for its propensity to separate the educated elite from the masses, and learning from life. Woodson perceived the academic arena as a battle ground: "...taught the same economics, history, philosophy, literature and religion which have established the present code of morals, the Negro's mind has been brought under the control of his oppressor." [55]

Woodson charged that the traditional curriculum contributed to African American oppression in that it provided academic justification for slavery, peonage, segregation, and lynching. African Americans and European Americans alike imbibed scholarship that supported the hegemonic structure of society. Woodson understood that those "daily educated in the tenets of such a religion of the strong have accepted the status of the weak as divinely ordained...." [56] The danger of the traditional curriculum, moreover, was two-fold. Constructed to bolster white supremacy, the curriculum included no mention of African contributions to human knowledge and civilization. Woodson denounced the omissions of African philosophy, science, literature, history, and fine arts, writing

> The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worth while, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples. [57]

Woodson was cognizant that his efforts to enrich the standard curriculum and encourage educators to employ it against racist propaganda extended the African American legacy of resistance to oppression. Woodson drew a parallel between his battles in the classroom and those fought by his ancestors with the dedication to his 1939 book, *African Heroes and*

Heroines: "To my uncle George Woodson who in captivity in America manifested the African spirit of resistance to slavery and died fighting the institution." [58] Carter Woodson knew that his own fight against institutional racism would also be met by stiff opposition. Two years after the publication of *The Mis-Education of the Negro* he mused, the "thought of basing the education of the Negro primarily upon his own culture, upon his own history and status, is so distasteful to the majority of our colleges and universities that they wish that Carter G. Woodson were dead and his work buried with him...." [59]

During the 1980s the Washington, DC chapter of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association characterized *The Mis-Education of the Negro* as "a key to our freedom as a people." [60] To be sure, Woodson put teaching as an emancipatory process at the center of his educational philosophy. His definition of liberatory education required students to develop habits of critical thought and to hone their abilities to apply knowledge to life situations. Woodson found both the academic and the training schools established for African Americans after Reconstruction lacking in this dimension. In order for teachers to do more than simply "mark time," he asserted that they must meet "the test of dealing with the world as it is." [61]

James Banks notes that Woodson probably had more influence on the teaching of African American history in U.S. schools and colleges during the first half of the twentieth century than any other scholar. By the late 1920s public school districts serving African American and European American communities had introduced African American history into their curricula, teachers and administrators sought Woodson's advice on curricular matters, and public libraries were purchasing an increasing number of books on African American history. [62] Woodson's commitment to transformative education found expression in a series of texts. Alain Locke placed *The Negro In Our History*, written by Woodson in 1917, in "that select class of books that have brought about a revolution of mind." [63] By the time the book reached its third printing it had been adopted for classroom instruction in about one hundred schools and colleges. Woodson revised the text for elementary school students (*Negro Makers of History*, 1928) and again for high school students (*The Story of the Negro Retold*, 1935). Woodson penned two additional books in the field of children's literature, *African Myths* (1928) and *African Heroes and Heroines* (1939). Woodson began publication of the *Negro History Bulletin* in 1937 to meet demands for materials in African American history for the average reader. The magazine was issued at low cost and became a staple in many classrooms. [64]

Woodson concluded each chapter in *Negro Makers of History* and *The Story of the Negro Retold* with a list of questions and projects. These study guides provide further evidence of Woodson's concern to develop education for student empowerment. The questions posed for elementary students ask them to interpret primary source materials, define new concepts by

contrasting with other ideas, analyze the effects of social movements, and prompt students to consider their own thoughts on the subjects under study. The projects suggested for secondary school students include analyzing statistics, conducting polls, and applying both to discussion of current issues; creating arguments from various perspectives on the same issue; debating critical issues; and, studying key legislation and the resulting effects on the African American community. These exercises required critical thinking on significant life issues that the students would face in their racist society. For Woodson, this was the chief purpose of education. [65]

Influenced by Woodson's writing and their own participation in the ASNLH, elementary and secondary school teachers assumed leadership roles in the promotion of the study of African American history at school, district, and state levels. [66] Examples of teachers working in alignment with the principles of critical pedagogy abound in the pages of the *Negro History Bulletin* , but Woodson was most pleased with the efforts of Principal Rachel McNeill of Glassboro, New Jersey. McNeill published a unit on African American history and helped form centers for teacher education in African American history and teaching methodology. Woodson saw his theoretical emphasis on drawing experiences from the students' own environment played out in McNeill's work.

> She is especially interested...in the background of the children whom she teaches. While the teacher must read many books and magazines she must read above all her own pupils. While the teacher may have much knowledge to impart to them the pupils know much with which the teacher should work.[67]

McNeill and other teachers inspired by Woodson went to their work as agents of social change. In her article, "How the Task Was Done," educator Mavis B. Mixon described her experience in incorporating African American culture into a public elementary school in Chicago. In her introductory statement Mixon reminded readers, "In the hands of the Negro teacher rests the destiny of the race." [68]

Carter G. Woodson believed that the major problem in education was that the African American "has been educated from himself rather than to himself." [69] This process deepened the alienation African Americans experienced from their African heritage and intensified the stranglehold of subordination on African Americans in U.S. society. Decades prior to critical theorists' articulation of the importance of group solidarity in liberatory education, Woodson argued for education grounded in African American culture as a means to challenge structures of oppression, alienation, and subordination. He captured the essence of his educational philosophy in a single sentence in 1933: "The education of any people should begin with the people themselves." [70] Collective knowledge of a people's past was an essential component of group solidarity for Woodson.

Woodson worked unceasingly to provide teaching materials and support learning experiences throughout the African American community. John Hope Franklin's account of Woodson's contributions to American historiography includes the founding and editing of the *Negro History Bulletin*, a medium Woodson used to present research in African American history to the public. Woodson called the *Bulletin*, which sold for one dollar but cost two dollars to produce, the ASNLH's "greatest liability" and its "greatest asset." Woodson's goal of putting the *Bulletin* in as many hands as possible was successful. After only a few years of publication subscriptions to the magazine neared 9000. [71] The *Negro History Bulletin* found its way into many classrooms along with other reference materials pertaining to African American history and culture. Woodson knew that the dissemination of materials depended upon wide-based community activism, and he encouraged parents--as taxpayers--to demand that local school officials purchase books in African American history for the schools. [72] Woodson organized an Extension Division of the ASNLH in 1927 which contained two subdivisions: a Lecture Bureau and a Home Study Department. The Home Study Department offered correspondence courses for teachers in African American history, literature, philosophy, sociology, and art. Goggin notes that these courses stimulated the organization of adult education programs sponsored by colleges and city branches of the ASNLH. [73] In the early 1920s the ASNLH had established branches in cooperation with existing clubs, religious groups, and literary societies in large east coast cities; by the 1930s the number of branches increased, spreading to smaller cities in the midwest, south, and southwest. [74] ASNLH annual meetings served as milestones in the development of African American solidarity as it emerged under Woodson's leadership. Increasingly critical of the educated elite's attempts at race uplift, Woodson called upon the masses to carry out the work of the ASNLH. Even children took part in Saturday sessions at the annual meetings. [75]

Franklin traced Woodson's understanding of peoples to his years of labor in the coal fields and his teaching experiences in the United States and abroad. [76] Woodson's respect for the capacity of unschooled people to forge solidarity out of the emancipatory power of education was indeed deeply rooted. His was a critical pedagogy aimed at intellectual and political freedom. "Above all things, the effort must result in making a man think and do for himself...." [77]

Jacqueline Goggin concludes that, for the most part, Carter G. Woodson played a more active role than contemporary scholars in promoting African American history among African Americans and in popularizing African American history among European Americans. Historians point to a dual purpose in Woodson's work; he endeavored to build self-esteem among African Americans and lessen prejudice among European Americans, and to lay foundations for the subfield of African American history. [78] Woodson's efforts to educate

European Americans in African American history signaled his understanding that those who attempted to "dialogue across difference" must know something of the other. African American history constituted a significant portion of the human story. No one could be thoroughly educated, Woodson explained, until he or she learned as much about African Americans as was known about other people.[79] Agnes Roche notes that white schools began to observe Negro History Week in the 1940s due to substantial attention in mainstream educational journals, endorsements by state departments of education and superintendents of city school districts, and allocation of funds for the purchase of books bearing on African American culture. Woodson wrote that this expansion exposed students to "valuable knowledge which everyone in a democracy should possess."[80]

Woodson and DuBois shared the idea that a core knowledge of African American culture and history was necessary to enable African Americans to "cross borders," to understand and communicate effectively with others. The African-centered education that they endorsed was not an exclusive pedagogy intended to crowd out other knowledge or focus solely on African heritage. Woodson explained that the

> new point of view in education is not to teach less of what has been taught the Negro before, not to concentrate altogether on his status and history....The new thought is to make the history and status of the Negro the nucleus of a new program of teaching the Negro about himself and about others in relation to himself. The aim is to bring the Negro into the drama not as the sole performer, not necessarily as the star actor, but playing his part in the great drama of life....[81]

In designing an educational philosophy that would enable African Americans to claim justice in the great drama of life, Woodson prefigured the construction of critical pedagogy.

* * *

> "It has been said that I had in mind the building of an aristocracy with neglect of the masses."[82]
>
> --W.E.B. DuBois [1948]

> "The Association always makes a sharp distinction between the study of the Negro and the agitation of the race problem. There is no effort to minimize the importance of the agitation for the rise of the Negro to the level of citizenship, but the Director and his coworkers have always been willing to leave that as a field in which the propaganda organizations may operate."[83]
>
> --Carter G. Woodson [1946]

To argue that DuBois' and Woodson's educational philosophies were forerunners of critical pedagogy does not require an absolute congruence between their thought and the theory as it exists today. DuBois' notion of the "Talented Tenth" and Woodson's propensity to separate activism and scholarship raise serious questions for critical theorists. One should examine

these points using the rigorous standard of critique that DuBois and Woodson embraced; the study may enhance current educators' efforts to think through key issues in critical theory.

In 1903 DuBois staked out a theoretical position which put him at odds with some late-twentieth-century students of critical pedagogy.

> The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races. [84]

DuBois made the first problem of education the cultivation of an educated elite, a vanguard to wipe out the ignorance which propped up racist structures in U.S. society. DuBois counted on the exceptional ones to raise up the deprived African American masses and, by their example, counter the racist assumptions held by European Americans. Many have interpreted DuBois' paradigm for progress, however, as an elitist philosophy that incorporated a form of paternalism in its striving for African American self-determination. [85]

In an incomparable analysis, Cornel West plumbed the depths of the "Talented Tenth" philosophy and found DuBois' interpretation of the human condition and his understanding of "the rich cultural currents of black everyday life" to be off line. [86] West writes of DuBois' inability to move beyond analysis and empathy with African American sadness, sorrow, and suffering to position himself alongside "ordinary" African Americans. The element of elitism that marks DuBois' "Talented Tenth" philosophy is rooted in an Enlightenment world view that establishes false dichotomies between expert knowledge and mass ignorance, individual autonomy and dogmatic authority, and self-mastery and intolerant tradition. [87] The rationalism that DuBois employed (with limited effectiveness, West explains) to deal with the absurdity of life in the twentieth century, remains a current in contemporary critical thought, one that should be challenged according to Ingólfur Jóhannesson. Problematic aspects of the "Talented Tenth" are not that far removed, in point of fact, from contemporary concerns with the "transformative intellectual." Jóhannesson charges that the notion of the transformative intellectual, which invites elitism and expert leadership, is flawed and dangerous.

> [I]t is assumed that "others" need help to become able to uncover "their emancipatory interests." ...Those already "freed" are called transformative intellectuals,...and their fundamental importance lies in the crucial role they play in forming and establishing a counterhegemonic discourse. [88]

The issue of leadership raises important questions for critical theorists. The pitfalls that, perhaps, DuBois did not see concerning the "Talented Tenth" deserve careful study.

Critical pedagogues may be disappointed with Woodson's repeated efforts to discriminate his scholarly work from social activism: "I am no agitator myself and I do not take the lead in such movements, because my work is removed from the field of controversy...." [89] While Woodson participated in the activities of the National Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Friends of Negro Freedom, Universal Negro Improvement Association, and New Negro Alliance, he refused to play the role of "race leader" and would not publicly espouse activist groups. [90] Throughout his career, Woodson set his scholarship apart from political action. In promotional materials for the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Negro History* he explained that the purpose of the publication was not to debate ways of settling "the Negro problem" but simply to "exhibit the facts of Negro history."[91] More than once Woodson cautioned Negro History Week organizers to avoid manipulation by leaders of what he termed "propaganda organizations" for political purposes. Private efforts to support political and civil rights notwithstanding, Woodson maintained a distance between political agitation and the work of the ASNLH. In the year before he died, Woodson stated

> The work of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History is educational and scientific...the organization decries any effort to divert it from this channel....The Association does not object to [political activism] but its approach to the solution of the problem confronting the Negro is through the channels of scientific research and education. [92]

To critical theorists who claim that any valid theory of education must be partisan in its commitment to an agenda for justice and against oppression, Woodson's faith in history as "objective science" demands attention. [93]

There is no doubt that Woodson, himself, engaged in political activity. "Using segregation to kill segregation," he advocated African American patronage of African American businesses and the organization of neighborhood cooperatives. As James Banks points out, Woodson's tireless efforts to gain funding for the ASNLH, his promotion of Negro History Week, and the publication of *The Mis-Education of the Negro* were deeply partisan activities. Woodson, however, feared that direct political action would endanger his attempts to establish his reputation as an objective historian. [94] Woodson and other early African American scholars walked a tightrope in trying to gain the professional recognition that would support continued scholarship in an academic arena marred by racism. They were working at a time when predominantly white universities would not hire African American professors, funding for research was difficult to come by, and professional organizations remained, for all practical purposes, "white only." Even if Woodson's training at Harvard had not emphasized "scientific history"--based on the conviction that "truth" about the past lay in the vast, unexplored territory of original and specific data--his mission to establish African American history as a respected discipline in the American academy could not risk classification as propaganda. [95]

Woodson took steps to ensure a place for African American history in the academy because he believed that scholarship could be used to influence social and cultural change. Although he rejected the path of direct political activism as a scholar, Woodson's conception of his work as an educator exhibits faith in the transformative power of education. Protest would emerge from an educated populace, rather than develop according to the design of an educated elite . Woodson counted on history to "dramatize the life of the race and thus inspire it to develop from within a radicalism of its own." [96] Although not a frontal attack, Woodson believed that his approach--publishing the "truth" in scientific form--would accomplish as much for social, economic, and political justice as the more spectacular maneuvers of his peers. In fact, he derided the "fire-eating agitation" of others (including DuBois) as ineffective, empty protest. Woodson centered his solution to the race problem on sound history, offering no particular tactic other than that the student should learn to think. [97] Perhaps Woodson found the most direct path to emancipatory education.

* * *

DuBois' and Woodson's legacies afford contemporary educators historical perspective from which one may think through a crucial issue at the center of critical theory: can critical pedagogy really equip teachers and students to bring about significant social change? What results from telling students--and ourselves, as teachers--that we are capable of altering the status quo... in case it isn't so? Is critical pedagogy mere whistling in the dark? After all, the level of crisis confronting our "twilight civilization" is overwhelming. Cornel West's assessment is dispiriting.

> With the vast erosion of civic networks that nurture and care for citizens--such as families, neighborhoods, and schools--and with what might be called the gangsterization of everyday life, characterized by the escalating fear of violent attack, vicious assault, or cruel insult, we are witnessing a pervasive cultural decay in American civilization. Even public discourse has degenerated into petty name-calling and finger-pointing--with little room for mutual respect and empathetic exchange. Increasing suicides and homicides, alcoholism and drug addiction, distrust and disloyalty, coldheartedness and mean-spiritedness, isolation and loneliness, cheap sexual thrills and cowardly patriarchal violence are still other symptoms of this decay....
>
> the ruling political right hides and conceals the privilege and wealth of the few ... and pits the downwardly mobile middlers against the downtrodden poor. This age-old strategy of scapegoating the most vulnerable, frightening the most insecure, and supporting the most comfortable constitutes a kind of iron law signaling the decline of modern civilizations...chaotic and inchoate rebellion from below, withdrawal and retreat from public life from above, and a desperate search for authoritarian law and order, at any cost, from the middle. [98]

DuBois and Woodson began their careers convinced that education is empowering. Ignorance stood in the way of progress. "The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know." [99] Structural forces of discrimination and oppression, however, did not collapse in the face of scholarly evidence of the evils of racism or the dissemination of African American history and culture. Woodson and DuBois, working from different bases, both came to embrace organization as a strategy for empowerment. The plan was to "use segregation to kill segregation." [100] Neither scholar underestimated the intensity of the fight, and therein may lie an answer for critical theorists.

With an eloquence equaled by few, DuBois argued that educated human beings could indeed bring about social transformation. DuBois' argument for a systematic method of education for empowerment sharpened focus with his 1903 essay, "The Training of Negroes for Social Power," in which he called for the "training of youth to thought, power, and knowledge in the school and college." [101] In a speech at Hampton Institute in the summer of 1906, DuBois reiterated this important point in his educational philosophy: education meant the development of power. He linked education in life, thought, and power to self-assertion and the pursuit of one great ideal, the abolition of the color line. [102] In 1907, DuBois again underscored the important role that education would play in the major social issue of his day, writing that the "public school is the greatest single thing that is going to solve the race problem." [103]

During the first decades of the twentieth century, entrenched oppression threatened DuBois' faith in the transformative power of education. In 1936, he presented a revised blueprint for social reconstruction, one that combined organization with critical education. Hope for a transformed social order was still apparent.

> Of course, we believe in the ultimate uniting of mankind and in a unified American nation with economic classes and racial barriers leveled; but we believe that this ideal is to be realized only by such intensified class and race consciousness as will bring irresistible force rather than mere sentimental and moral appeal to bear on the motives and actions of men for justice and equality. [104]

DuBois' vision of radical democracy, however, did not force structural change in the United States of the mid-twentieth century. Decades of disappointment finally turned DuBois to militant despair. As he left the United States for Africa at the age of 93, DuBois exhorted, "Chin up, and fight on, but realize that American Negroes can't win." [105] Struggle remained, even if the society that critical theorists seek appeared unattainable. DuBois knew that people had the capacity to create a legitimate democracy. Perhaps his despair emanated from a conclusion that he could no longer avoid, that people lacked the will to work for a just society.

Carter Woodson targeted and achieved a degree of structural change in educational institutions. Soon after completing his graduate work, Woodson concluded that established means for developing a career as a professional historian were closed to him. He responded by

creating a separate, alternative institutional structure to facilitate the research, writing, and publishing of African American history. [106] Woodson explained that

> The Negro faces another stone wall when he presents [scholarship] to the publishing houses. They may not be prejudiced, but they are not interested in the Negro. [107]

This "stone wall" stood for many years after Woodson's death. In a survey of history journals, Jacqueline Goggin found that DuBois' 1910 essay was the only article published by an African American scholar in the *American Historical Review* between 1895 and 1980. In the same stretch of time the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* published three articles by African Americans, the first in 1945; the *Journal of Southern History* published its first article by an African American scholar in 1953. [108] As founder and editor of *The Journal of Negro History* and the Associated Publishers, Woodson changed the configuration of American history. John Hope Franklin recognized Woodson's efforts as stimulating a major transformation of the field, writing "[the] contributions of Carter G. Woodson to American historiography have been significant and far-reaching...the program for rehabilitating the place of the Negro in American history has been stimulated immeasurably by his diverse and effective efforts." [109]

Woodson focused intensely on African American scholarship in order to set African American history on a course to permeate the educational system. His aim was to facilitate the teacher's task of preparing children as informed, active participants in the struggle for justice.[110] The influence that Woodson's work had on elementary and secondary education was no less powerful than its effect in the academy. Teachers and other community members, themselves energized by Woodson's publications and their engagement with the ASNLH, demanded that schools purchase texts on African American history and culture and alter the curriculum. Mary McLeod Bethune gave voice to a sentiment no doubt shared by countless persons whose education Woodson had affected.

> I shall always believe in Carter Woodson. He helped me to maintain faith in myself. He gave me renewed confidence in the capacity of my race for development...with the power of cumulative fact he moved back the barriers and broadened our vision of the world, and the world's vision of us. [111]

The impact of such an awakening, multiplied by the thousands, is difficult to measure. Further study of the impact of Woodson's and DuBois' educational philosophies on students and teachers may counter the criticism that, primarily, "empowerment" has found expression in critical theory in ahistorical abstractions. [112]

A serious challenge to critical pedagogy is that it is little more than whistling in the dark, that structural forces of oppression are too entrenched and will withstand any effort for change generated by students and teachers in schools. Elizabeth Ellsworth writes that fundamental assumptions in critical pedagogy themselves constitute repressive myths that perpetuate

dominance. [113] Educators struggling with this issue might consider a few points that emerge in both DuBois' and Woodson's work: education is empowering; organization is necessary; struggle is significant.

Woodson's career provides evidence that structural change is possible, even if reconstruction comes slowly and in incremental steps. Carving a space for African American history out of the "traditional" curriculum was not an insignificant achievement, but as Woodson knew, it is only one advancement in the ongoing battle to dismantle hegemonic forces. Woodson was a model of persistence. In an obituary notice, DuBois wrote that "under the harshest conditions of environment," Woodson "kept to one great goal, worked at it stubbornly and with unwavering application." [114] While holding the creation of a just society as a guiding ideal, the measure of critical pedagogy does not rest in a once-and-for-all victory over oppression. Woodson knew there would be no all-encompassing solution to overturning oppression, no general program of uplift would work. His idea was to educate people who could deal wisely with conditions as they found them. [115] DuBois was no less tenacious in his long battle against injustice, but by the end of his life he saw significant structural change in the United States as not very likely. West suggests that we begin where DuBois ended--with his militant despair--and continue to strive with genuine compassion, personal integrity, and human decency to fight for radical democracy."[116]

One lesson to be derived from DuBois' and Woodson's life work is that the strength of critical pedagogy is found in commitment to struggle. We cannot disengage from struggle because a reconstruction of the social order is possible. Audre Lorde reminds us that "revolution is not a one-time event. It is becoming always vigilant for the smallest opportunity to make a genuine change, ...[It is] actively working for change, sometimes in the absence of any surety that change is coming." [117] At the same time, we cannot afford to disarm students in their battle for justice through a false hope in critical pedagogy, or any theory. Critical theorists should not misrepresent *possibility* for social change as a *guarantee* for change. Critical pedagogy can bring students to an understanding of DuBois' vision that "creative powers reside among the wretched of the earth even in their subjugation, and the fragile structures of democracy in the world depend, in large part, on how these powers are ultimately exercised."[118] Following the lead of DuBois and Woodson, teachers and students can tap into critical pedagogy to prepare for the struggles before them.

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1 Ellison quoted in *History and Memory in African-American Culture*, Geneviève Fabre and Robert O'Meally, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 45.

2 See, for example, Henry A. Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning* (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1988), 16; Catherine A. Logg, "Calling For Community In a Conservative Age," *Planning and Changing* 27 (Spring/Summer 1996): 2,4; Peter McLaren,

Life In Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Education, 2d ed. (New York: Longman, 1994), 167-169.

[3] Cornel West, *The American Evasion of Philosophy: A Genealogy of Pragmatism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 4.

[4] Peter L. McLaren and Michael Dantley, "Leadership and a Critical Pedagogy of Race: Cornel West, Stuart Hall, and the Prophetic Tradition," *Journal of Negro Education* 59 (1990): 38.

[5] "'Appropriate' stresses making something one's own or converting to one's own use without authority or with questionable right...." *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: G.& C. Merriam Company, 1971), 44.

[6] Beverly M. Gordon, "Knowledge Construction, Competing Critical Theories, and Education," in *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee Banks, eds. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1995), 189-190. See also Beverly M. Gordon, "The Necessity of African-American Epistemology for Educational Theory and Practice," *Journal of Education* 172 (1990): 89 and Beverly M. Gordon, "African-American Cultural Knowledge and Liberatory Education: Dilemmas, Problems, and Potentials in a Postmodern American Society," *Urban Education* 27 (January 1993): 451. Ingólfur Jóhannesson describes an "exclusive discourse of White male professors associated with the field of critical pedagogy" and also notes that very little of critical pedagogy literature addresses racial issues in "Capable of Resisting and Entitled to Lead: On the Historical Conditions of the Neo-Marxist Educational Discourse," *Educational Policy* 6 (September 1992): 307, 312-313.

[7] Gordon, "The Necessity of African-American Epistemology," 90; Gordon, "African-American Cultural Knowledge," 449; Joyce Elaine King, "Culture-Centered Knowledge: Black Studies, Curriculum Transformation, and Social Action," in *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee Banks, eds. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1995), 284.

[8] James A. Banks, "Multicultural Education: Historical Development, Dimensions, and Practice," in *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee Banks, eds. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1995), 7, 10; James A. Banks, "African American Scholarship and the Evolution of Multicultural Education," *Journal of Negro Education* 61 (1992): 280; James A. Banks, "The African American Roots of Multicultural Education," in *Multicultural Education, Transformative Knowledge, and Action: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, James A. Banks, ed. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996), 31. Others who acknowledge African American contributions to the formation of critical education theory include Molefi Kete Asante, "The Afrocentric Idea in Education," in *I Am Because We Are: Readings in Black Philosophy*, Fred Lee Hord (Mzee Lasana Okpara) and Jonathan Scott Lee, eds. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995): 338-349; Frederick Dunn, "The Educational Philosophies of Washington, DuBois, and Houston: Laying the Foundations for Afrocentrism and Multiculturalism," *Journal of Negro Education* 62 (1993): 24-34; Maxine Greene, "In Search of a Critical Pedagogy," *Harvard Educational Review* 56 (November 1986): 427-441; bell hooks, Teaching *to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 2-3, 51-52; Joyce E. King, "Dysconscious Racism: Ideology, Identity, and the Miseducation of Teachers," *Journal of Negro Education* 60 (1991): 133-146; Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate, IV., "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education," *Teachers College Record* 97 (Fall 1995): 47-68; Carol D. Lee, Kofi Lomotey, and Mwalimu Shujaa, "How Shall We Sing Our Sacred Song in a Strange Land? The Dilemma of Double Consciousness and the Complexities of an African-Centered Pedagogy," in *Critical Social Issues in American Education: Toward the 21st Century*, H. Svi Shapiro and David E. Purpel, eds. (New York: Longman, 1993): 179-193; Carol D. Lee and Diana T. Slaughter-Defoe, "Historical and Sociocultural Influences on African American Education," in *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee Banks, eds. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1995), 348-371; and, Agnes M. Roche, "Carter G. Woodson and the Development of Transformative Scholarship," in *Multicultural Education, Transformative*

Knowledge, and Action: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, James A. Banks, ed. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996): 91-114.

[9] Gordon, "Knowledge Construction," 187-188.

[10] Banks, "African American Scholarship," 280.

[11] King, "Culture-Centered Knowledge," 269.

[12] Gordon, "African-American Cultural Knowledge," 448, 468; Gordon, "The Necessity of African-American Epistemology," 103.

[13] Gordon, "Knowledge Construction," 195.

[14] This is part of Michael Apple's definition of critical analysis. Apple, quoted in Gordon, "Knowledge Construction," 190.

[15] McLaren and Dantley, "Leadership and a Critical Pedagogy of Race," 30; Logg, "Calling For Community In a Conservative Age," 2-3; Greta Hofmann Nemiroff, *Reconstructing Education: Toward a Pedagogy of Critical Humanism* (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1992), 55-56; Ira Shor and Paulo Freire, "What is the 'Dialogical Method' of Teaching?" *Journal of Education* 169 (1987): 12; Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals*, xxix; Elizabeth Ellsworth, "Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering? Working Through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy," *Harvard Educational Review* 59 (August 1989): 297-324. See Gordon, "Knowledge Construction," 190 on critical theory and the issue of race in education.

[16] Barry Kanpol, "Critical Pedagogy and Liberation Theology: Borders for a Transformative Agenda," *Educational Theory* 46 (Winter 1996): 106.

[17] Ibid., 108.

[18] Ibid., 110; McLaren, introduction to Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals*, xviii.

[19] Kanpol, "Critical Pedagogy," 113, 115.

[20] Martin Bulmer, "The Challenge of African-American Leadership In an Ambiguous World: W.E.B. DuBois, Carter Woodson, Ralph Bunche and Thurgood Marshall In Historical Perspective," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18 (July 1995): 635; Banks, "Multicultural Education," 9; Banks, "African American Scholarship," 276.

[21] W.E.B. DuBois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century* (USA: International Publishers, 1968), 228-229.

[22] Ibid., 192. Throughout this paper, I have not altered DuBois' and Woodson's original language in quotations or in references to book and essay titles. Both scholars used the term "Negro" to refer to persons of African descent and used gender-specific language in their writing.

[23] Ibid., 197.

[24] *The College-bred Negro American*, W.E. Burghardt DuBois and Augustus Granville Dill, eds., the Atlanta University Publications, No. 15 (Atlanta: The Atlanta University Press, 1910), 5. Manning Marable, *W.E.B. DuBois: Black Radical Democrat* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986), 25; DuBois, *Autobiography* , 214.

[25] DuBois, *Autobiography* , 222.

[26] "W.E.B. DuBois' Confrontation with White Liberalism During the Progressive Era: A Phylon Document," introduction by William M. Tuttle, Jr. *Phylon* 35 (September 1974): 244, 254.

[27] DuBois, *Autobiography* , 228. W.E.B. DuBois, "Segregation in the North," in *W.E.B. DuBois: Writings* (USA: The Library of America, 1986): 1240, 1256.

[28] W.E.B. DuBois, "A Negro Nation Within The Nation," in *The Oxford W.E.B. DuBois Reader*, Eric J. Sundquist, ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 435.

[29] W.E. Burghardt DuBois, "The Freedmen's Bureau," *Atlantic Monthly* 87 (1901): 361.

[30] W.E.B. DuBois, "The Hampton Idea," in *The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques 1906-1960*, Herbert Aptheker, ed., (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), 8-9.

[31] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1970), 19.

[32] W.E.B. DuBois, "Negro Education," in *W.E.B. DuBois: Writings* (USA: The Library of America, 1986): 874.

[33] W.E.B. DuBois, "The Negro College," in *W.E.B. DuBois: Writings* , 1012.

[34] DuBois, "Counsels of Despair," in *W.E.B. DuBois: Writings* , 1256-1259; Marable, *Black Radical Democrat* , 134; W.E.B. DuBois, "The Negro and Social Reconstruction," in *Against Racism: Unpublished Essays, Papers, Addresses, 1887-1961*, Herbert Aptheker, ed. (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1985), 154.

[35] W.E.B. DuBois, "The Field and Function of the Negro College," in *Education of Black People*, 93-95.

[36] Ibid., 99-100.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., 100-102.

[39] W.E. Burghardt DuBois, "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" *Journal of Negro Education* 4 (July 1935): 328.

[40] Ibid., 332-334.

[41] Ibid., 334.

[42] Asante, "The Afrocentric Idea in Education," 339.

[43] W.E.B. DuBois, "On Being Ashamed Of Oneself: An Essay On Race Pride," in DuBois *Reader*, 76.

[44] W.E.B. DuBois, "Whither Now and Why," in *Education of Black People*, 150; Sundquist, *DuBois Reader*, 28; Asante, "The Afrocentric Idea in Education," 348.

[45] King, "Culture-Centered Knowledge," 273.

[46] Carter G. Woodson, quoted in Roche, "Development of Transformative Scholarship," 94.

[47] Gordon, "The Necessity of African-American Epistemology," 95; Michael R. Winston, "Carter Godwin Woodson: Prophet of a Black Tradition," *The Journal of Negro History* 60 (October 1975): 462.

[48] Carter G. Woodson, "The Miseducation of the Negro," *Crisis* 38 (August 1931): 266-267.

[49] Carter G. Woodson, quoted in August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 9; Jacqueline Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson: A Life In Black History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 140.

[50] Goggin, *A Life In Black History* , xiv, 31; Gordon, "The Necessity of African-American Epistemology," 94.

[51] Carter Godwin Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1977, originally published in 1933), 145.

[52] Goggin, *A Life In Black History* , 157.

[53] Editorial comment, "The Miseducation of the Negro," 266.

[54] Charles H. Wesley, "Carter G. Woodson--As a Scholar," *The Journal of Negro History* 36 (January 1951): 24.

[55] Woodson, *Mis-Education* , xiii.

[56] Ibid., xii.

[57] Ibid., xiii, 18-21; Woodson, "The Miseducation of the Negro," 267.

[58] Carter Godwin Woodson, *African Heroes and Heroines* (Washington, DC: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1939), dedication.

[59] Carter G. Woodson, quoted in Meier and Rudwick, *Black History*, 56.

[60] Quoted in Goggin, *A Life In Black History* , 209.

[61] Carter G. Woodson, *The African Background Outlined or Handbook for the Study of the Negro* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1971, originally published in 1936), 357. See the

same volume, page 321; Woodson, quoted in Andrew G. Paschal, "The Paradox of Negro Progress," *The Journal of Negro History* 16 (July 1931): 253; Woodson, "The Miseducation of the Negro," 267; and Woodson, *Mis-Education* , 11, 38.

62 Banks, "African American Scholarship," 278; Goggin, *A Life In Black History* , 118.

63 Locke quoted in Roche, "Development of Transformative Scholarship," 101.

64 Roche, "Development of Transformative Scholarship," 101.

65 Woodson, *Mis-Education* , 14. See Carter G. Woodson, *Negro Makers of History* (Washington, DC: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1928), 294 and Carter Godwin Woodson, *The Story of the Negro Retold* (Washington, DC: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1935), 208-209 for examples of the questions and projects posed at the end of each chapter of these books.

66 Roche, "Development of Transformative Scholarship," 103.

67 Woodson, quoted in Roche, "Development of Transformative Scholarship," 105.

68 Ambrose Caliver, quoted in Mavis B. Mixon, "How the Task Was Done," *The Negro History Bulletin* 4 (June 1941): 200.

69 Woodson, *The African Background Outlined* , 355.

70 Woodson, *Mis-Education* , 32.

71 Roche, "Development of Transformative Scholarship," 102; John Hope Franklin, "The Place of Carter G. Woodson In American Historiography," *The Negro History Bulletin* 13 (May 1950): 175-176. Franklin summed Woodson's contributions to American historiography in four points: books and monographs based on Woodson's own research (noting *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* as the most significant); editing source materials to be used by other researchers; editing records of the federal government pertaining to African American history; and, the founding and editing of the *Journal of Negro History* and the *Negro History Bulletin*.

72 Roche, "Development of Transformative Scholarship," 99.

73 Goggin, *A Life In Black History* , 86-87.

74 Ibid., 113.

75 Ibid., 119. See Woodson, "The Miseducation of the Negro," 266 and Woodson, *Mis-Education*, 52, 163 for examples of Woodson's criticism of the elite's estrangement from the masses.

76 Franklin, "The Place of Carter G. Woodson In American Historiography," 175.

77 Woodson, *Mis-Education* , x.

78 Goggin, *A Life In Black History* , 208; August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, "J. Franklin Jameson, Carter G. Woodson, and the Foundations of Black Historiography," *The American Historical Review* 89 (October 1984): 1005.

79 Woodson, *Mis-Education* , 136.

80 Woodson, quoted in Roche, "Development of Transformative Scholarship," 100.

81 Woodson, *The African Background Outlined* , 322.

82 W.E.B. DuBois, "The Talented Tenth Memorial Address," in Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Cornel West, *The Future of the Race* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 159.

83 Woodson quoted in Wesley, "Carter G. Woodson--As a Scholar," 23.

84 W.E.B. DuBois, "The Talented Tenth," in Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Cornel West, *The Future of the Race* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 133.

85 West, *The American Evasion of Philosophy*, 143, 179; Cornel West, "Black Strivings In a Twilight Civilization," in Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Cornel West, *The Future of the Race* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 58-60; George M. Fredrickson, *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 109.

86 West, "Black Strivings In a Twilight Civilization," 55-56.

87 Ibid., 57-64. See also West's discussion of the other significant pillars in DuBois' thought, Victorian strategies and American optimism, pp. 64-79.

[88] Jóhannesson, "Capable of Resisting and Entitled to Lead," 305-306.
[89] Woodson, quoted in Sister Anthony Scally, "Documents: Phelps-Stokes Confidential Memorandum for the Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund Regarding Dr. Carter G. Woodson's Attacks on Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones," *The Journal of Negro History* 76(Winter/Fall 1991): 59.
[90] Goggin, *A Life In Black History* , xv, 156; Bulmer, "The Challenge of African-American Leadership," 636; 644-645; Alrutheus A. Taylor, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson Inspirer and Benefactor of Young Scholars," *Negro History Bulletin* 13 (May 1950): 186.
[91] Meier and Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession*, 11
[92] Woodson, quoted in Meier and Rudwick, 12. See also, Roche, "Development of Transformative Scholarship," 100.
[93] For critical theorists' position on partisan educational theory, see McLaren, *Life In Schools*, 175-177; and Walter Feinberg and Jonas F. Soltis, *School and Society*, 2d ed. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1992), 43-71. For Woodson's perspective on scientific objectivity in scholarship, see Banks, "African American Scholarship and the Evolution of Multicultural Education," 275.
[94] Goggin, *A Life In Black History* , 162-163; Banks, "African American Scholarship and the Evolution of Multicultural Education," 275.
[95] Darlene Clark Hine, "Carter G. Woodson, White Philanthropy and Negro Historiography," *The History Teacher* 19 (1986): 408.
[96] Woodson, quoted in Goggin, *A Life In Black History* , 156. See also Goggin's introduction, xv.
[97] Charles Harris Wesley, "Foreword," in Lorenzo J. Greene, *Working with Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History: A Diary, 1928-1930*, Arvarh E. Strickland, ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), xi; Tony Martin, "Carter G. Woodson and Marcus Garvey," *Negro History Bulletin* 40 (Nov/Dec 1977): 776; Meier and Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession*, 12; 63; Harvey Wish, ed., *The Negro Since Emancipation* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), 92.
[98] West, "Black Strivings in a Twilight Civilization," 107-108.
[99] DuBois, *The Autobiography*, 197.
[100] Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, 109.
[101] W.E.B. DuBois, "The Training of Negroes for Social Power," *The Outlook* 74 (October 1903): 413.
[102] DuBois, "The Hampton Idea," 13; 15.
[103] W.E. DuBois, "Sociology and Industry in Southern Education," *The Voice* 4 (May 1907): 174.
[104] DuBois, "The Negro and Social Reconstruction," 148.
[105] DuBois, quoted in West, "Black Strivings in a Twilight Civilization," 111. See also, West, *The American Evasion of Philosophy*, 149.
[106]Hine, "Carter G. Woodson, White Philanthropy and Negro Historiography," 406.
[107] Woodson, quoted in Wesley, "Carter G. Woodson--As a Scholar," 20.
[108] Jacqueline Goggin, "Countering White Racist Scholarship: Carter G. Woodson and *The Journal of Negro History*," *The Journal of Negro History* 68 (Fall 1983): 358-359.
[109] Franklin, "The Place of Carter G. Woodson In American Historiography," 176.
[110] Wesley, "Carter G. Woodson--As a Scholar," 22; Woodson, *Negro Makers of History* , iii.
[111] Bethune, quoted in Winston, "Carter Godwin Woodson: Prophet of a Black Tradition," 459.
[112] See Ellsworth, "Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering? Working Through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy," *Harvard Educational Review* 59 (August 1989): 297-324 for a critique on critical theory on this and other grounds.
[113] Ibid., 298.
[114] DuBois, quoted in Goggin, *A Life In Black History* , 209.
[115] Woodson, quoted in Samuel A. Hay, "Carter G. Woodson's Mis-Education of the Negro: A Re-Visit," *The Negro History Bulletin* 38 (Aug/Sept 1975): 439.
[116] West, "Black Strivings in a Twilight Civilization," 112.
[117] Audre Lorde, "Learning from the 60s" in Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press, 1984), 140-142.

[118] West, *The American Evasion of Philosophy*, 148.